that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or retired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
•291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

881 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

the sameik by using an uncoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests, about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

• 291 in the weave. These were produced in smoky blues, ambers and dull greens so beloved of elderly Burmese ladies.

286 438 Silk weaving is one of the old industries of Burma, but the yarn is mostly imported, for the rearing of silkworms, like fishing, is a form of taking life. Fortunately, around Prome on the central Irrawaddy, there live a tribe of hill people called Yabeins who are animists and may safely cultivate the *po-sa*, worm food mulberry tree. The silk from here is coarse, but is used for the weaving of the most elaborately patterned silks called *cheik*. These valuable pieces are used for wedding skirts and ceremonial wear. Few people possess more than one cheik skirt; the great number of spools—a hundred or more—necessary to produce the intricate patterns in minute waves of blended colours makes the prices vary from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 400/- per piece, a high price compared to the present imported silks. All the weaving is done by handlooms, rectangular frames about five feet long, holding the warp threads of four yards in length and 40 to 45 inches in width, operated by girls sitting on high stools, raising the alternate threads by a foot-pedal, and banging the pushboard against the woven threads each time they throw the spool across by pulling on a cord, producing eventually an *ok*, a book, a piece for two skirts folded flat and stiff like a book.

With imported yarns dyed with native vegetable dyes, the weavers at Mandalay, Amarapura, Prome and Shwedaung, Kyangin, Tavoy, Kindat and the Yaw valley produced silks of exquisite pinks, blue-greys, gold and amber, strong reds and purples, dull dirty greens, all from the sunset skies, water-vegetation, birds and trees, never fading: *pan-nu, kho, mi-go, hpet-hpu, ma-yan, pasun-hsi, payin, kyet-thoay, yay-hnyi, a-sein-bok*: tender flowers, dove, smoke, leaf-bud, marian seed, prawn oil, amber, cock's blood, slime-moss, rotten vegetation. Plain colours, checks, stripes and geometrical designs all cost only Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- or, perhaps, Rs. 10/- per piece and could be washed forever. No wonder Kyi-Kyi did not understand why we bought imported silks. She did not understand the desire for novelty, for frivolity of birds, giant flowers or sprouting fruit such as are never seen on land or sea.

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787 782 778 823 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.

787 768 The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 436 643 177 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 951 [291] The naming and the construction of the sadā being finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

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the monks are perhaps
276 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is
792 prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to
515 pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our
302 villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious [751] person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts
514 on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is
291 sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

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wound round the body, kilt fashion, tucked in with a twist in front, and the portion which remains, gathered up and allowed to hang in folds from the waist, or thrown jauntily over the shoulder. The body is covered with a short white cotton jacket, over which another of dark or coloured cloth is often worn. Elderly people, and the wealthy of all ages, when they are paying a visit of ceremony or going to worship at the pagoda, wear a taing-mathein, a long white coat, open in front except at the throat, where it is tied, and reaching almost to the knees. Round the head a flowered silk handkerchief is loosely wound as a turban. The old wear a simple narrow fillet of white book-muslin round the temples and showing the hair. This is called a pawlôn.

The woman's tamein is a simple piece of cotton or silk, almost square, four feet and a half long by about five broad, and woven in two pieces of different patterns. This is wound tightly over the bosom, and fastened with a simple twist of the ends. The opening being in front, the symmetry of the thigh is displayed in walking, but a peculiar outward jerk of the heels which the girls acquire prevents any suggestion of immodesty. The loose cotton jacket is unhappily not so well contrived to display their charms. Over the shoulders is thrown a bright silk handkerchief, the same as that used by the men for turbans. Nothing is worn on the head except flowers twisted into the hair. Dressed in their best, the family sally forth in search of amusement. If it is a pwè, they will not get home till very late, possibly not till daybreak, when the yellow line of monks issuing forth on their matutinal tour may meet them at the monastery gate. A country dance naturally does not last nearly so long, though it is kept up much longer than most people would care to dance a hornpipe or even a minuet. But a still more favourite form of amusement is the entertainment of a sā-haw sayā, a kind of reciter or improvisatore. He is paid to come to a house, and the company invited are asked to choose a subject for him, some of the favourite zāts, or an incident in history, sacred or secular. Many of them, like the cyclic poets, repeat from memory, but there are others who invent their smooth verses as they go on chanting. They may perform in a house, or in a mandut

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are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

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far as personages of the Burmese royal blood were concerned. The descendants of Mahā Thamada never went on their own legs in the open air. If they did not mount an elephant, some official was honoured with the weight of majesty on his back. In the same way, while a humble subject "eats," a pôngyi sônpônpethi "assimilates," or "nourishes his body with the alms of the pious"; and a king demeans himself to nothing less than "ascending to the lordly board." You may "call" or "invite" an ordinary man; to an ascetic you may "suggest an interview"; you would be a reckless man indeed if you sought a formula which in the faintest imaginable way would suggest to a king that you wanted him to come to you. When your visitor departs, if he is on familiar terms, he says, Thwa-mi nŏ, "I say, I'm going," and you politely respond, Thwa-ba, "By all means, go away"; if he stands a little in awe of you, he says, Thwa-daw-mi, "Honoured sir, I take my leave"; on the other hand, when, after a conference with a holy brother, you take your departure, you say, "My lord's servant does obeisance" (literally, "kowtows with his forehead"). When there was a king he did not give you the chance to say anything; he flung out of the throne and disappeared behind a blue curtain, while your eyes were fixed on the ground a couple of feet before you.

And so it goes on through a triple language, which makes Burmese of the palace an unknown tongue to the best foreign scholar. Tales are told of the ludicrous mistakes of men, who to ordinary people could speak Burmese, and therefore imagined they might venture on it with the king. Thus it was with a bluff English manager of one of the numerous mills which King Mindôn built and kept going till he got tired of them. This gentleman, in replying in the affirmative to some remark of the Lord of the Golden Palace, horrified the court by saying hôkde instead of the prescribed tin-ba payah, "I think with your majesty." The expression to palace ears was much the same as if some one were to say to His Majesty the King of England, "Right you are, old cockie." The court language is still kept up by all Burmese in their intercourse with superior officials.

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If the proprieties of language were carefully observed, the regulations as to wearing apparel and ornaments were

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far more minute, and guarded with the most jealous care. The almost wretched character of the houses of Upper Burma, as compared with those in the lower territory, was very apparent; but what struck a stranger even more was the absence of the gay dress which is so pleasant and picturesque in Pegu and the seaboard provinces. There was indeed no law against any one wearing the most brilliant paso he could get; but the money was wanting to support the character. A man with a fine waistcloth would be considered to have the money at the back of it, and might have to sell his dress to meet the contributions demanded accordingly by the local official. In Lower Burma, every one has a feast-day dress, however poor he may be. He gets the money for it by a week's work, perhaps backed up by a lucky bit of gambling. Then he is at liberty to strut about and do nothing till the clothes get shabby, when he has to bestir himself again. In British territory, too, he might decorate his kilt with any number of representations of the peacock. An Upper Burman would have been promptly put in gaol—he would even have run some risk of being killed outright—if he ventured upon one. Peacocks were for personages of the blood-royal. Most people in independent territory wore no coats at all; but if they did wear coats, they had to be of the simplest possible "Chinese cut." Long-tailed taingmatheins, surcoats and the like, were reserved for officials, with regulations as to buttons, gold or otherwise, and other minutiæ which must have severely taxed the memory of informers and chamberlains.

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As we ascend in the social, or rather the official scale,—for all dignity came from office, or from a special patent from the king—distinctions thickened. Naturally in the land of the umbrella-bearing chiefs, the huge htis afforded a prominent and obvious mode of marking rank. The umbrella is twelve or fifteen high, with an expanse of six feet or more across. A poor man had nothing to do with these big umbrellas whatever, unless he were employed to carry one over his master's head. If he owned an umbrella at all, it had to be short in the handle and otherwise of Western limensions. Royal officials about the palace had their mbrellas painted black inside; country people, and those

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565 301 not directly connected with the royal abode, had the palm-leaf as near the original colour as the varnishing with wood-oil permitted. Some had permission to cover the wide surface with pink or green satin; others, more honoured, might add a fringe, either plain or embroidered. A golden umbrella was given by special grace to the highest wuns and the royal princes. A white umbrella belonged to the king alone and to religion, and not even the Eingshemin, the heir-apparent, when such a person existed, was allowed to use it. Matters were still further complicated by the number of umbrellas. Nine white ones marked the king; the Eingshemin had eight golden ones; and the rest of the royal personages numbers corresponding to their achievements, or the regard the king had for them. If they achieved too much, however, and became popular, they died. Distinguished statesmen and generals might have several gold htis, which were duly displayed on all public occasions, and were put up in the house in prominent places. The king's "agent" in Rangoon had only one, which very fairly represented the consideration in which Great Britain was held, and the official rank thought good enough to communicate with the Chief Commissioner. A favourite trick 565 291 301 of the king, Naungdaw Gyi, was to issue perpetually new edicts as to the length of umbrella handles and the proper measurement of the paso. District officials used to make [661] large sums of money in the way of fines in those days, and occasionally themselves fell victims. There was nothing of the kind latterly, unless we may consider the queen Supayalat's announcement as to the way in which her hair was dressed, being patented as her sole prerogative, an instance of the same nature. Nevertheless, the general distinctions were very tenaciously held by. Innocent, unwitting Englishmen got themselves into serious trouble in Mandalay by going about carrying silk umbrellas with white covers. The offence was high treason and merited death. None actually underwent the supreme penalty, but there were a few who had vivid denunciations for the stocks.

565 The metal, size, and construction of spittoons, betel-boxes, cups, and the like household furniture for different grades were rigidly demarcated, and afforded the most

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291 ●

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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443 holder is then buying his or her provisions for the
369 day, and the people crowd in thousands round the sellers. Everyone is bargaining and chaffing and laughing, both buyers and sellers; but both are very keen, too, on business.

443 The cloth and silk sellers, the large rice-merchants,
286 and a few other traders, cannot carry on business sitting on a mat, nor can they carry their wares to and fro every day in a basket. For such there are separate buildings or separate aisles, with wooden stalls, on either side of a gangway. The wooden floor of the stalls is raised two to three feet, so that the buyer, standing on the ground, is about on a level with the seller sitting in the stall. The stall will be about eight feet by ten, and each has at the back a strong lock-up cupboard or wardrobe, where the wares are shut at night; but in the day they will be taken out and arranged daintily about the girl-seller. Home-made silks are the staple—silks in checks of pink and white, of yellow and orange, of indigo and dark red. Some are embroidered in silk, in silver, or in gold; some are plain. All are thick and rich, none are glazed, and none are gaudy. [439] There will also be silks from Bangkok, which are of two colours—purple shot with red, and orange [286] shot with red, both very beautiful. All the silks are [291] woven the size of the dress: for men, about twenty-eight feet long and twenty inches broad; and for women, about five feet long and much broader. Thus, there is no cutting off the piece. The anas, too, which are the bottom pieces for a woman's dress, are woven the proper size. There will probably, too, be piles of showy cambric jackets and

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEIKS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathem. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter [25] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of KHEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 6/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge [251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

CLOTHING

Clothing Habits

The standard garments worn by U Myaing consist of a longyi which reaches from his waist to his ankles, a shirt or a vest for his upper torso, clogs or slippers for his feet. Head covering is seldom worn but for every-day purpose would be a western style hat or a bamboo topee. For special occasions the GAUNG-BAUNG would be worn. When U Myaing works he takes off his shirt and vest because, he said, otherwise he would have no other shirt to wear afterwards. In Pantanaw, when they went to PWES (stage performances) and festivals he had on a vest, a shirt, and a jacket. 291 ● [292] [296]

> "Sometimes, when I feel that way, I wear these at home even though I do not intend to see the PWE. It is just because I am in the habit of wearing them. At night I sleep in my vest. When it is cold, I pull on a shirt over that. In the daytime ordinarily I wear vest, shirt and cotton longyi. Here in the camp I cannot wash my shirt and vest very often - I do so only when they have become soiled, not at regular intervals of time. But the shirt becomes soiled every three or four days and the vest every two days or so. On the other hand I possess three longyis and wash each of them after one wearing, when I have a bath."

The females of the family habitually wear a women's longyi sometimes called a HTA-MEIN, extending from the waist to the ankles clogs or slippers and an EIN-GYI over a bodice for the upper torso. The two younger children wear western style frocks. The specific items worn are given below. The clothing items may be organised into two headings, one dealing with U Myaing's clothing, and the second with the clothing of the remaining (female) members of the family. [177]

U Myaing's Clothing.

CHEE LONGYI (Cotton longyi): — The LONGYI is a piece of cloth reaching from the waist to the ankles. It is stitched so as to be cylindrical in form, somewhat wider than twice the girth of the individual. The patterns are most frequently squared and of different colours resembling the scotch tartan closely. Men's colours are dark or pastel colours mainly. It is secured about the waist with several twists one upon the other in the front midline. Ceremonial LONGYIS are wider than those of ordinary use giving a fold of 6 to 8 inches in front. [292]

inches in front. When working in wet areas, the back portion is taken between the legs and tucked into the waist band- resulting in a kind of loin cloth garment. Pathwe: 5 or 6 per year were used, and kept on hand at all times; they cost Rs. 1/8 each in the Pantanaw market. Camp: A last a year with 2 or 3 on hand; cost 2 at Rs. 5/- each, 1 at Rs. 3/4. Six are regarded as necessary for one year. 291 ● 435

PUN LONGYI (Silk Longyi):- Pathwe: A or 5 were kept on hand, although they were worn out at the rate of about 1 per year. These were bought by U Myaing while in Rangoon on a business trip: HEIT LONGYI (Mergui woven) cost Rs. 18/-; KYAUKSE (Kyaukse woven) cost the same; BANGKOK (Bangkok woven) cost Rs. 25/-; MANDALAY (Mandalay woven) cost Rs. 5/- or 6/-. Camp: he has none. One or two good ones are required, and these will last about 3 years. 292 435

CHEK KHOTI Cotton Shirts: — Cotton shirts may be western or Burmese style. The Burmese shirts lack collars and pockets and utilise a chain of metal studs as buttons. Pathwe: 7 or 8 Burmese style shirts were kept on hand and lasted about 1 year. They were bought in Rangoon and the rest in Pantanaw at Rs. A/8 per shirt. Camp: one western style Khaki shirt is on hand, and he now uses about 2 per year. The one shirt was bought at Thein-gyi-zay (Socrates Bazaar) for Rs. 6/-. Two or three shirts are regarded as necessary for a period of 8 months. 291 435

SUT KAIB (elastic or wear widen) vest:— The vests are western style jackets without arms and buttoning up the midline to a V-shaped neck or the western T shirt. Pathwe: 6 or 7 garments at a cost of Rs. 1/A per garment. Camp: he has had one T shirt for the past 6 months and it cost him Rs. 2/8 at the Socrates Bazaar. Two garments will suffice a year now.

APAN-KHOTI (over-jacket) Burmese jacket:— The Burmese jacket is made of a light material, often silk. It lacks a collar, is loose fitting and short, falling just over the top of the LONGYI, has wide sleeves to the wrist. There are five evenly spaced strips of cloth tied into knots that function as buttons on the midline. The eyes of the buttons are little loops of cloth strips. The sleeves lack buttons. The garment is usually worn open. It is reversed for dress occasions. Pathwe: U Myaing had two jackets for a period of 8 or 9 years. The flannel ones in Rangoon for Rs. 25/- or Rs. 20/-. A [illegible] [292]

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"pasoe"one cost Rs. 12/8. He has none in Camp.

GAUNG BAUNG (head band):— This is a strip of brightly coloured silk about 4 feet long and 8 inches wide which is wrapped tightly about the head. Pastel colours are most common of which a bright pink colour is most frequently seen around Rangoon. It is tied so that the two ends project as "plumes" over the right ear. Now that the traditional Burmese long hair knotted high on the back of the head has given way to western style short hair cuts a light conical wicker basket is used as a base on which the GAUNG BAUNG is wrapped. This is mainly used by those who lack time to tie the cloth around the head. The basket retains the traditional cone-shaped form of the headgear. Pattern: Three silk GAUNG BAUNGS were used per year. These were bought in Rangoon at Rs. 1/12 to Rs. 2/4 each. He has none in camp. This head-dress is used mainly for dress and ceremonial occasions.

LET-KUNE-PU-NA (Hand hold cloth) handkerchief:— These are the western cotton square, imported from United Kingdom, Japan or India. Pattern: one dozen were used per year, at a cost of Rs. 4/8. Camp: none.

AH-PWIN-KAB-BAUNG-HI, underwear pants:— These are loose cotton pants coming down to the knees and fastened at the upper end around the waist in the same manner as the LONGYI. They are worn by U Byaing only with silk LONGYIS. Pattern: he kept five on hand, using about 4 a year. They were made at home at a cost of Rs. 1/8 or Rs. 1/12 each. Camp: none, since the silk LONGYI is not used.

Head Towels: (same as towel) when a head wrapping is needed as protection against the heat or cold a cotton towel about 3 feet long and a foot and a half wide is wrapped around in a loose fashion. Pattern: two were used per year; bought in Pantanaw market for Rs. 2/8 or Rs. 3/- per towel. Camp: none.

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BEAN LWE AIKE Shan bags: — This is a shoulder bag commonly called "Shan bag" since the Shan area is a common source. They are made over most of Burma. The bag is a square pouch about a foot and a half on a side made by sewing the sides of a folded piece of printed, or woven cotton. The more ornate have geometric designs

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BEE Comb: Man use a western brand celluloid comb. Pathee: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired".

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SHAY-TOE-PAHAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese men's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathee: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements.

HOKE-PA-HAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the feet by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathee: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYET-MWA-THOKE-PU-MAR (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathee: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathee but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

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KO-THOKE-PU-MAR (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathee (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none.

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PADAUK-LET-SUT (Ruby-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myaing's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/-

SE'E LET SUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

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SE'E CHI. THEE (Gold-gap-pin or button) Gold chain or button: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese

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shirt front. It cost Rs 25/-. U Myiang had a set from the age of 14 to 30.

MOND-LET-THEE (Silver hand button) Silver Cuff links: One pair of plain silver cuff links was used from the age of 14 to the evacuation. These cost 12 annas.

Accoutrement of the Female members of U Myiang's family

Following are the clothing and accoutrement of Ma Aye Myaing Daw Aw Zar, and the children as given by Ma Aye Myaing. The data was collected by Ma Khin Hmway, Assistant in Anthropology.

CHEE-LONGYI (Cotton Tamein): This is the dress worn by Burmese women. It is a rectangular piece of cloth, cotton or silk extending from the waist to the ankles. At the waist is a black band about 6 inches wide. The colors and patterns are quite varied and usually floral rather than checked as in the case of the men's LON GYI. It is about twice the width of the individual and wrapped in a single fold very tightly, the end being tucked into the waist band. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing used 10 per year (cost Rs 3/- to 5/-) ; Daw Aw Zar used 3 or 4 for 5 or 8 months (cost Rs 2/8 to 4/-). All were bought in the Pantanaw market. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing used 4 in 6 months (2 cost Rs 4/-, others cost Rs.5/- and 7/-). Daw Aw Zar used two for 6 month (cost Rs.3/8, and 7/-)- The two elder daughters used 6 for 3 or 4 months (2 cost Rs.4/- each, and 2 cost Rs.2/8 each. The remaining 2 were received as gifts from Daw Khin Kyi (Mrs. Aung San who is engaged in child and maternity welfare work). All desired 10 garments per year.

INGYI (Jacket): The Burmese women's jacket is made of muslin, silk, cotton, or nylon, and are usually white (though some pastel shades such as blues and green are now appearing). They have no pattern. The garment has sleeves, fits over the bodice, and comes down to the waist band fitting snuggly. There is no collar. They seldom button down the midline, but rather fasten by ornate buttons (5 in all) in a square pattern. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing had 7 which lasted for 9 months (cost Rs.4/- each). Daw Aw Zar had 6 lasting one

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year (same price). The two elder daughters had 4 to 6 each lasting 9 to 10 months (cost Rs. 2/8 to 3/-). All were bought in the Pantanaw market. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing has 3 KINGHIS for 8 months (cost from 3/- to 4/- each); Daw Aw Zar has 2 lasting 8 months (same price); the two elder children had 3 each for 6 months (received as gifts). The number which they had in Pathwe are desired.

GAR WUN "Gown" frocks: — These are English style children's garments which may be described as short skirts with attached short sleeved shirt. Pathwe: the two younger daughters had ten between them lasting 10 months. Four frocks were received as gifts from friends in Rangoon, and two from Daw Khin Kyi. Twelve are regarded by Ma Aye Myaing as necessary for one year.

CHAME-KAN (sweat preventer) Bodice: — The bodice is a plain white band which binds the breasts closely. It is an ancient type of brassiere, probably of European (English) origin. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing had 5 lasting 10 months (cost Rs. 1/9 to 2/8). Daw Aw Zar had 2 lasting 2 or 3 months each. Cloth was bought at Rs. 2/- per yard and she sewed them herself. These garments were bought from Paye-gyi-daunt on the other bank of Pantanaw. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing has three lasting 7 months; (two cost Rs. 3/- and 2/8, the other was received as a gift. Ma Aye Myaing now feels she needs 6 garments for 1 year; Daw Aw Zar needs 4 for 1 year.

SHIN-NI Underwear: — Only the two elder daughters wear this garment also called "chemise" a kind of petticoat. Pathwe: 8 garments were used between them for 10 months. The cloth was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 2/- per yard and sewed at home - plain ones with no lace. Camp: only 4 garments were used for 8 months. These were received as gifts from their aunt who sewed them with lace. Six are desired for one year.

Panties (European style): — Only the two younger daughters wear these, with their frocks. Pathwe: 5 garments were used in 8 months, bought at Pantanaw for 8 annas each. Camp: four garments used for an eight-month period. These were sewed at home with cloth received as a gift from Daw Khin Kyi. Four are now regarded as a good supply for one year.

SHE-PHYE-HPA-NUT slippers: — The women's leather slippers are

●291 435 are the same as the men's. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar and the three daughters each had one pair which would last for six months. They were bought in Rangoon by U Myaing at Rs. 5/- per pair for the adults and Rs. 3/- per pair for the children. Camp: none.

KON-HPA-NUT Wooden sandals: — Same as Burmese men's type. Pathwe: both ladies had one pair each, used for 3 months and cost 8 annas at Pantanaw. Camp: same quantity and price, but they only last 1 month on the hard pavement. The four daughters had one pair each lasting 2 months in Pathwe, bought in Pantanaw for 4 annas per pair. In camp the children also each have one pair, but they last only 1 month. The Rangoon article costs 4 annas per pair for the 3 younger daughters and 6 annas per pair for the elder daughter.

GAUNG-SI (head-bind) scarf: — A towel was used as a scarf around the head by Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar. Each had two lasting one year. They cost Rs. 3/- each in the Pantanaw market. The same two scarfs are in use in camp.

301 435 SI-GE KYO' (hanging string) Gold chain with pendant: — In Pathwe the eldest daughter had a golden chain with a locket of a gold coin about the size of an 8 anna bit. The piece of jewelry weighed 1 tical and was worth Rs. 50/-. It was later sold.

SHIN-MI.G.T.-i-TU (Diamond ear sticking false) Ear-plugs:— In Pathwe Ma Aye Myaing had one pair of ear plugs set with synthetic diamonds. They were from a goldsmith in Pantanaw for Rs. 35/- . They have now disappeared. Burmese women have their ear lobes pierced when very young. "Plugs" are shafts about 1/8 inch or less in diameter. A socket on the inner side keeps the shaft from slipping out. The end showing is mounted with a decorative element, usuually a precious stone.

KYAUK HPYU MA GAT (stone white earring) :— One pair of earring with white stones was bought at Mye-ni-gone for 3 annas and is now used by Ma Aye Myaing. One pair of gold earrings (SHWE NGAT) belonged to each of the two younger daughters. They were bought for Rs. 30/- each from Pantanaw. They have been sold. The eldest daughter had a pair of synthetic diamond(SHIN NGAT) bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 20/-, but these have disappeared. Earrings made of a mixture of

TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Hand Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid combs	"	1	0
Slippers, "Ai plane" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheses. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

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Cloth Table 1.(b)

Item	Consumer	Pathee	Camp.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

Analysis of wearing apparel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as lumury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than [562] the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard [183] might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The [177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fall into the categories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the comp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in comp because: (1) these are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultural inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of Personal Accoutrement.

●291 181 296 "LU-HMAR-LH-MOOT-TAUNG-HMAR-AH-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

291 554 181 Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also scornful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUK-THU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291● 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABAW ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tattooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

304 562 178 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattooing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 826 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is believed that individuals known as MEIN-TWE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following [775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 ● 291 293 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band draped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long-sleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on thy head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNG (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNÁ, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HANN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly.

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The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets.

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The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompadour" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-shaped - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder

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302 on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on
177 special occasions.
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291 The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A
562 severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her
183 HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593] When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

291 Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation.
841 Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

291 Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in
177 certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western
554 people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

[186] is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562] tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

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Westernization is invading the women's sphere more slowly than the men's. However, the use of lipstick is now appearing among the upperclass of town people - along with modern brassieres and nylon ~~KIMONOS~~ with short sleeves. This is deplored by the more conservative as too revealing. The hair is shorter than formerly though the styles are only modified western ~~style~~type. A most important influence in the westernization of dress of the upper classes have been the American films.

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must be getting a lot of demerit.

He then had to say something about the women's clothes in Rangoon. In Pathwe the girls did not dare to dress in these fashions. "I do not even dare to look at some of them." In Pathwe village there were no such things as girls with short sleeves, etc. Only the girls who had been to town affected them. The majority wore KIN-GYIS of thick material. In Rangoon one sometimes has the feeling that one is looking at little dolls".

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U Myaing considers that there is a greater variety of means of earning money here. In Pathwe there were only a few ways in which one could earn money and these were almost wholly confined to working fish and paddy and their by products. There was of course frequent interchange of goods with people from other villages inland and with boats from Upper Burma.

U Myaing has been in Rangoon before and had seen the electric tramway and things that the others in the family had not seen before, but even he has seen comparatively little. The others have not seen so manydifferent kinds of automobiles, they have never seen the trains, rickshaws, pony-carts etc.

In the matter of clothing, they find a difference between Pathwe and Rangoon even in hair styles and in making up the face. U Myaing thinks that the people in Rangoon have inverted the order of things. According to him, a man can stay undressed except for a longyi and it can remain acceptable, while girls must wear clothing of thick material. This was the case in Pathwe, whereas in Rangoon men wear thick clothing and women wear garments made out of sheer material.

The life of Rangoon is beginning to influence girls who came from the villages, and they are beginning to imitate their sisters in town in the use of short sleeved jackets, lipstick and "waves". In Pathwe the usual facial make up is to daub the whole face with THANAT-KHA cream and leave it to dry. In Rangoon THANAT-KHA is used only as a powder base. Even Ma Aye Myaing has now a jacket which has sleeves that are elbow long.

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In Rangoon, the men's garments are of better quality. In Pathwe during the hot season the men stayed without any shirts on,

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
●291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parićikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parićikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasi*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabéit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezít*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dâ*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabéit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PASSANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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25. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission.

The *shinlaung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *parikaya* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingán*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikô*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*hu-daw*—to become a layman again). The *gyin* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*shinthaman*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*hmû*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Ni, Brother Golden-red, becomes Ô Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world.

26. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA).

The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

83. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321).

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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88. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthndaw observe fewer *thîla* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyîzi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthndaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthndaw* shift for themselves in *zayát*s about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthndaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthndaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthndaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyín form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

89. MÈTHILÁ AT WORSHIP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed in the piece, but in the yarn. Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where weaving is a speciality, the men take no share in the industry beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekhe*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *hsa-kyet* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasó*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasó* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*hnikdaungzu*) or is thrown over the shoulder.

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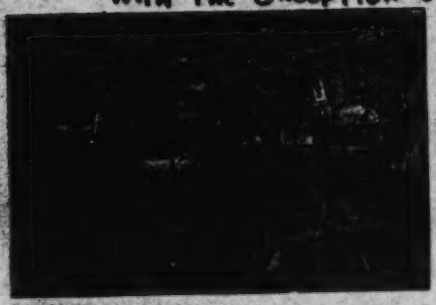

THE SHOOTING THE THATCH.

127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (*see* p. 291).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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129. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *pasó* is girt into the narrowest compass (*kaddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamêin*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamein* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Pasó* and *tamêin* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *lôndyt*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *lôndyt* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamêin*, worn like the Malay *sárong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pazún-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*pwa*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaungbaung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*taing-ma-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*lesshé-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kadó inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. No kind of wool is indigenous

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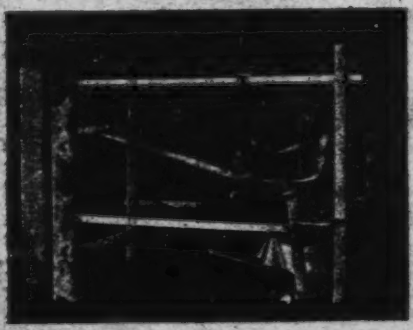

130. THE WEAVING-LOOM.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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No kind of wool is indigenous 286

191. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *vid* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*aggya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

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191. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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153. THE CHALLENGE (*see* p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5·5. The cost of living of a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngé*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

154. AN "ORIGINAL."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals.

A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thnsan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-zattaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazaung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaiktiyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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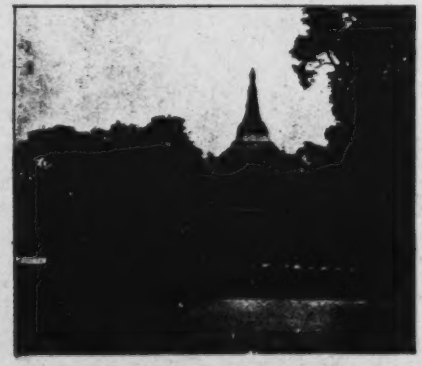
[346]



428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.